THE NEW REPUBLIC

"It Ought To Be Stopped"

The Editors

Kennedy and the First Ballot

Theodore Lowi

Decline of the Labour Party

Hugh Massingham

Who'll Buy My Stock?

Helen Hill Miller

April 11, 1960, 25 cents

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

President as High Priest

★ Religion, we suspect, is implicit in the office of the Presidency. It seems to be growing rather than diminishing. Few people in the White House have invoked the Deity, we believe, more than the present incumbent. Our government is built round the Presidential principle – he is constitutional monarch, commander and prime minister rolled into one; he is ceremonial officer and executive. Part of his job is being high priest: pile your burdens on the President, and forget them! This attitude has been growing, however much rationalists may object. Some of Eisenhower's support – as indeed for the office as a whole – is almost mystical.

The British have a Queen for this sort of thing. There is no religious issue in British government for the very good reason that it is prescribed what religion the Queen must be. No Catholic, Jew or Baptist need apply. Having settled this problem nicely in the course of two or three hundred years, the British are complacently tolerant about where their prime minister worships, if he bothers to worship at all. Lacking this admirable scheme, however, some Americans find the problem awkward. They want a tacit Act of Settlement to apply in choosing their elective High Priest. They seem to take it for granted, indeed, that such a Statute already operates.

We would draw a distinction here. There are some very real questions about separation of Church and State involved in the dogma of the Catholic Church. Without committing ourselves on Kennedy's candidacy otherwise, it has seemed to us that he has answered these religious questions candidly and satisfactorily. But no answer will satisfy the disciples of the Protestant High Priest mystique; their reaction is emotional, not logical, and they would probably object just as much to a Jew as President as to a Catholic.

Nixon's Problem

★ Nixon's followers boasted of his big vote in the uncontested New Hampshire primary; in Wisconsin, however, even before the results were in they began decrying the importance of his vote. Simultaneously they rushed last-minute funds to Wisconsin to appeal to Republicans by TV and radio not to cross over into the Democratic scrap. They recognized that Nixon's prestige was considerably involved. Nixon has a problem, no mistake. Rockefeller has quit and the fickle polls are turning against Nixon.

Furthermore, faithful scouts like those from the *Wall Street Journal* report that somehow or other people just don't like Nixon, often they can't say why. It is a hard business to combat. Nixon has announced that he is going to campaign high level this year (as distinct from his jugular attack). But now he is haunted by Helen Gahagan Douglas who has been called in to remind voters of what happened to her in those robust, red-blooded days when Democrats were the "party of treason."

Eisenhower has cut Dick loose, too; he is no longer chained to the Eisenhower program. But one of the funniest scenes in Washington for a long time must have been when Nixon's emissary, Health Secretary Flemming, pleaded with Eisenhower and his staff recently for some kind of emergency Administration alternative to the Democratic Forand bill, to help pay doctors' bills for the aged. We are reliably informed that Flemming was reminded that Eisenhower has already summoned a big Conference on the Aged, to be held in Washington *next January*. Eisenhower likes conferences; he called a windy Conference on Education, you remember, as a substitute for acting on the class-room shortage, and his vast and nebulous Conference on Youth has just left without apparent result. Nixon's clear and present danger is in November, however, not January.

Look at the picture on the advertisement or on the front page cover: always some toothsome youngster in life's first prime! This accent on Youth is a symbol of a bygone day, a pioneer folk image of ourselves that lingers beyond reality. We are a mature population now; those over 65 number 16 million; the ratio has jumped from 4 percent of total population in 1900 to 9 percent today and is growing fast. Whatever else these elders are they are old enough to vote. At a time when their potential disability is highest their income is lowest. They have been neglected for years; it looks now as if they were coming into their political own.

Where the Shoe Pinches

★ Harvard economist Seymour Harris has got together some statistics of the reckless shoe-pinching thrift of the Eisenhower Administration. By reckless thrift we mean deforming a child's foot by forcing it to wear out shoes too small for it. American gross national product, for example, has risen in a recent six-year period by $120 billion, Harris reports. But federal welfare outlays in the same time have risen only $1.5 billion. Defense outlays in relationship to GNP, have fallen by one-fourth to one-third. Federal spending as a percentage of GNP has fallen roughly by one-quarter since 1952. Federal responsibility has steadily diminished. We have, in short, economized. We have economized on schools, on defense, on welfare. A curious result of this is that it has forced nearly everybody into debt – states, cities, individuals. Under Truman after the war GNP rose much faster than debt. But since 1952 total debt has risen $272 billion, or 50 percent – a proportion far above the rise of GNP.

A Word in Private

★ If you were a litigant how would you feel to discover your opponent was secretly communicating with the judges? FPC chairman Kuykendall acknowledges that he and two other commissioners had off-the-record conversations with highly-paid Thomas Corcoran asking favors in a Midwestern Gas pipeline case. The stakes were $15.5 million over 20 years. The FPC apparently changed its decision. And who was the other party in the case? – why you and me, of course, the taxpayers.

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Cartoon:
5. The Washington Post

The Russians termed the Camp David statement of the President and Prime Minister Macmillan "encouraging," and so it was. The two leaders said that the US and the UK would be "ready to initiate a voluntary moratorium" on underground tests, as soon as a treaty covering the more easily detected atmospheric tests is signed with the Soviet Union and joint studies have been arranged on methods for monitoring underground explosions. Within 24 hours, however, the President muddied the waters by saying that the moratorium he has in mind could only be guaranteed on our side for a short time: "Under a situation where you have a . . . simultaneous and voluntary renunciation of testing for a stated period, if that period went beyond your own terms of office, I personally think that it would have to be reaffirmed by a successor, if it were to be effective."

Why this qualification? Did the President feel obliged to tell the Russians what they already know, that the next President might take a different view of things? The future possibility that a new Congress and a new President might repudiate past agreements does not relieve this President of his present responsibility to do what needs doing. The incident illustrates Mr. Eisenhower's reluctance to make the large, decisive choice and to fight for that choice. And it is the kind of buck-passing that could have harmful consequences. Any lack of firmness by the White House in pursuit of an agreement encourages AEC and Pentagon opponents of a ban to redouble their efforts to convince Congress, the press and the public that no treaty would be better than any the Soviet Government is likely to sign.

The puzzling thing about Mr. Eisenhower's qualification is that it was unnecessary. Assuming that remaining differences with the Russians can be resolved, why could the President not offer the US Senate a treaty in two parts? The first and permanent section might cover the ban on all explosions above magnitude 4.75 and the agreed-upon inspection procedures for monitoring a ban. The second part might commit this government to a moratorium on lower-yield, underground tests for a stated period, say two years. Such a commitment would demonstrate our sincerity and might allay some of the doubts which have been raised about the wisdom of binding the US to a permanent ban on all tests of whatever magnitude, before there is agreement on inspection that would be required to detect underground tests.

Or, alternately, Mr. Eisenhower could arrange for a limited moratorium on underground testing on his own authority. He is both com-

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mander-in-chief and personally responsible for the conduct of our foreign relations. He could, as have his predecessors, enter into an executive agreement with the Soviet Union and Great Britain that would prevail unless repudiated. The possibility that such an executive agreement would be overturned by this Congress is remote; it will be adjourning shortly after the President's return from the Summit in May. In the absence of such repudiation the agreement would have the force of a treaty, and be regarded as such by the UK and the USSR.

Arguments of the Opposition

Everything could be lost if Mr. Eisenhower wavers, for influential opponents of a ban are hard at work. Columnist David Lawrence, for example, attaches enormous importance to the old truism that the Russians cannot be trusted, a remark that is as illuminating as a wet match. The reason why the US is negotiating or trying to negotiate a treaty that is enforceable through a system of joint inspection is *because* there is lack of trust. Senator Hickenlooper (R, Iowa) says solemnly that, "We can't take the Russian promises on faith alone – they have broken most of their agreements heretofore. The system of control must be reliable." Of course it must be "reliable." That is what the conferences in Geneva are trying to assure. In a letter to *The New Republic* last week, Dr. Hans A. Bethe, who is as qualified to comment on these matters as any scientist in America, said that "after all, nobody has ever claimed that our present means of detection of Russian tests is adequate. If it were, we wouldn't need the Geneva net of stations. If we could detect Russian underground tests with our present means we would have no leg to stand on in the Geneva negotiations."

A second argument of the anti-ban lobby is that US security requires further testing. Thus, Sen. Clinton Anderson (D, N.M.) believes that "the resumption as directed by the President of our underground test program," might be necessary "for final development of certain of our weapons before they go into production. These weapons, which currently are in a state of partial development, and the details of which for obvious reasons I cannot discuss, will decidedly improve our nuclear defense capability when fully developed." The meaning of the phrase "fully developed" cannot be discussed in these columns, for obvious reasons.

It would be interesting to know why the opponents of a test ban are sure that the US will get and stay on top if the nuclear weapons race is again thrown wide open. The natural advantage in such a competition might well lie with a totalitarian state which is under less compulsion than ours to justify expenditures to constituents. Senator Hickenlooper says that "if we want to continue the refinement of weapons to increase the sophistication of our weapons systems involving atomic weapons, then testing is one sure way for making progress." But that is a "sure way" for the Russians too, and for any other nation with the desire, the scientific and industrial technique and the financial means to develop these weapons.

Opponents of a treaty will charge that a ban on the big tests and suspension of smaller tests for a period of two or three years would help the Russians. How is this? Why, because the Russians would test secretly, and we would not. Therefore, they would progress, and we would stand still. How serious is that possibility? It must be admitted that there will be a period following the signing of any treaty during which there will be no machinery to guarantee the ban's observance. It would be many months before any three-power study on refining techniques for detecting underground blasts could be completed; then that study would have to be translated into actual modifications of the detection system. Furthermore, after the three governments have ratified a treaty, it may take another two or perhaps three years before the monitoring network is installed, the monitoring teams assembled and on the job. During this interim period, it is asked who will be on guard? How could we be sure that the Russians were not cheating?

Several points are worth considering. The USSR's pledge not to conduct further tests would not have to be accepted entirely on faith, even before any control system is established. In a Senate speech last August, Senator Humphrey pointed out that, "Other means also exist to determine whether tests have taken place in addition to the reading of instruments and the conducting of mobile inspection teams. I am referring here to a variety of intelligence measures which would be available to the United States and which would have nothing to do with the operations of the control system."

No country could set off a big blast today without our government's knowing a great deal about it, when and where it occurred, the kind of test it was, probably the force of the explosion – and we would know all of this without there being any monitoring stations or teams in Siberia. As for the possibility of clandestine underground tests being carried out before an inspection system is in operation, how hazardous is that risk? Not only would our government be on the alert (as it is now) for suspicious underground tremors, so would our allies and neutrals who have their own scientific and intelligence networks. Dr. Leo Szilard, an atomic physicist of repute, contends that: "If America were to agree to stop the tests and thus accede to a long standing insistent Russian demand, and if such agreements were publicly and emphatically explained by the governments over the radio and television in Russia as well as America, the Russian government would then hardly be in a position to turn to Russian scientists and engi-

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neers with a request to continue the testing of bombs in secret. I am not saying that if this were done Russian scientists and engineers would point blank refuse their cooperation, but rather that morale would suffer to the point where no major development programs could be successfully carried out on the basis of illicit testing."

But what if Dr. Szilard is wrong and the Russians *did* cheat. In the opinion of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, "No nation will vault into a position of technical superiority on the basis of a single or even several low-yield nuclear tests conducted below the earth's surface. It has required approximately 200 tests of devices and weapons under ideal conditions and at full power to produce the present arsenal of nuclear weapons. The majority of these tests have been conducted by the United States, and even if the Soviets succeeded in conducting a small number of tests illicitly, the United States security would not be significantly affected."

Now, no responsible advocate of a test ban has recommended buying a "pig in a poke." Inspection must be adequate. Agreement still has to be reached on several items, perhaps the most important being the number of on-site inspections permitted each year. Dr. Bethe's letter refers to this: "There is reasonable agreement on the requirements for inspection of the limited test ban as proposed by the West in February, *i.e.* the ban of underground tests above magnitude 4.75. The US has proposed to inspect 20 percent of the suspicious events which is estimated to involve about 20 inspections per year in the USSR. I believe that most experts stand behind the US proposal of 20 percent inspections. The accurate number of unidentifiable earthquakes in the Soviet Union is simply not known and changes from year to year. How many inspections would be required if the ban were extended to lower yield is impossible to tell and will depend entirely on the improved detection system which can be worked out and agreed upon."

The United States would prefer a maximum of inspection, the Soviet Union a minimum. But there is an in-between area which is technically "adequate" and might be politically acceptable to both sides. One possible compromise is that out of 20 or so inspections a year in the USSR, one of the 20 might be tied simply to rumor, initiated by what someone suspects might be happening, rather than to any seismic criteria. The whole theory of the kind of controls required is that by a combination of devices, all three of the major nuclear powers can have a reasonable degree of assurance that no testing is going on.

The Risks Worth Taking

If the will to end testing is there, the means seem now to be available. And the best way to begin, as Horace Greeley said long ago, is to begin. Any demand that these radically new, supra-national controls be set up and proved *before* the treaty is signed is absurd on the face of it. "The negotiators in Geneva and the US Government," Dr. Bethe writes, "have been well aware that during the construction of the control posts there will in effect be a ban without inspection. I am afraid this is a risk we just have to take. We could not expect the Russians to agree to a start in construction of control posts while at the same time continuing tests."

"Boy, the Fallout Is Terrific"

One comes finally to the question whether any three-power agreement would end nuclear weapons testing. France and Communist China have stated firmly that they will not be bound by any Geneva treaty. Does this mean that the Geneva talks are futile? Not if one considers that the spread of nuclear capabilities is more likely to be restrained than stimulated by a ban adhered to by the US, the UK and the USSR. If a control mechanism can be created and shown to be workable, "N'th" powers will be under powerful political, moral and economic pressures. The burden of proof and of guilt will be on those who choose not to play the game, who choose to abstain from controls which the great majority of mankind recognizes as being in the universal interest. The President does grasp the main point here: "If we continue to [test] others are going to test in the fields that we have already covered . . . and finally there will be any number of nations that have it, and I think it ought to be stopped."

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When Money Comes High

It seems only a day or two ago that President Eisenhower and Secretary Anderson were nagging Congress to raise the ceiling on interest rates on long-term Treasury bonds. Congress balked but the story seems to have a happy ending for the Administration after all. Interest rates in general now seem to be turning downward. Commercial bank borrowings from the Federal Reserve System have diminished; bond prices have been rising and bond yields falling; yields on Treasury bills, the shortest term of Treasury securities, have plummeted; and there are even rumors that the Treasury contemplates the issuance of 5 to 10 year bonds at rates well below the famous 4 1/4 percent legal ceiling.

How pleasant it would be if we could simply put a period to a confused episode whose rights and wrongs few people ever thoroughly grasped. But the effects of the high interest rates which the monetary policy of this Administration has promoted linger on long after current rates begin to fall. In the perspective of the monetary managers, interest-rate variations may appear short-run only, easily reversed with each shift in the economic winds. In the lives of those who borrow when interest rates are high, the results may endure for 20 years. Take the home buyer's situation as illustration. If he took out a $12,000 FHA mortgage in 1952, his payments of interest and principal over the 20 years of the mortgage's life would have totaled $20,556. If he had waited until 1957 to move into the suburbs, the interest rate which faced him would have risen to 5 percent and his total payments would have ascended to $22,140, or an additional $1,620 in interest charges. If, less luckily still, he waited until 1960, the startling interest rate which then would have confronted him came to 5 3/4 percent plus a 1/2 percent insurance charge. His total obligation would have mounted to $23,760 – a difference of $3,204 between the 1952 and the 1960 situations. What was true of the home buyer was also true of other private borrowers, generally in lesser degree, as they committed themselves to installment purchases of automobiles and consumer appliances, or borrowed from small loan companies. Public borrowers encountered many of the same difficulties. States and municipalities which endeavored to raise funds for schools and other public purposes, discovered that higher interest charges drastically elevated costs and was an important reason why voters rejected many projected bond issues.

It is plain, then, that interest-rate policy as pursued by the Eisenhower Administration suffered from at least three major defects. In the first place, its short-run policies led to long-run effects on the lives of many people. In the second place, the burden of these high rates fell very substantially upon those with small or moderate incomes, for individuals in these groups by and large must borrow to purchase and are least able to postpone their decisions. It is accurate to say that high interest rates promote a transfer of income from those with relatively little to those with relatively much. Finally, existing disproportions between public and private spending are aggravated by the higher costs of bond issues. When interest rates are high, fewer schools are built, fewer clinics opened, fewer slums cleared.

None of this should be taken to mean that interest-rate policy should never be used. But at a minimum it implies that it should be used more selectively and that at many economic junctures the fairer way to counteract recession or inflation is to employ fiscal policy – the deliberate variation of taxes and public outlays.

CATHOLICS IN AMERICA

The controversial discussion of the "Catholic Issue" in 1960 which has appeared in recent issues of The New Republic *is now available in a single, special supplement. It includes the review of Paul Blanshard's book by William Clancy, Mr. Blanshard's reply, comments by the editors, excerpts of letters from readers and the articles of John C. Bennett, Jaroslav Pelikan and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.*

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North Dakota Barometer

On June 28, just on the eve of the national conventions, North Dakota will elect a United States Senator to succeed the late maverick Republican, William Langer. Back in 1892, the state sent a Democrat to the Senate, and in 1944 another in the person of John Moses, who died after only a few months in office. But with those exceptions, and that of a couple of appointees who served briefly a half-century ago, Senators from North Dakota have been Republican.

This election in our most agrarian state will inevitably be taken as a new index of the farm-state popularity of Secretary of Agriculture Benson, whose policies, regardless of their merit, have scarcely endeared him to farm-state politicians of either party. Senator Mundt of neighboring South Dakota has repeatedly said he wished Mr. Benson would vanish, and such Republican stalwarts as Senators Curtis of Nebraska, Shoeppel of Kansas, Allott of Colorado and Dworshak of Idaho – all up for reelection and all faced by the

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prospect of able opponents and hard campaigns – would greet Mr. Benson's disappearance with relief; likewise, former Sen. Frank Barrett of Wyoming, who has resigned as General Counsel of the Department of Agriculture in order to shake Mr. Benson's dust from his robes well in advance of November. Mr. Barrett has announced for the Wyoming Senatorial race.

As of the moment the Democratic Senatorial candidate in North Dakota is a strong favorite, which is much as if a Republican were favored in Georgia. He is Rep. Quentin Burdick, Congressman-at-large and inheritor of a famous North Dakota political name and tradition as the son of the late Usher Burdick. Quentin Burdick has twice gone to the House by a statewide vote and has made a good record there.

The national Republican command realizes what is at stake. Senator Goldwater has said "if we can't win in a key pivotal state like this, we may lose the presidential election." And a North Dakota defeat would presage such Democratic gains in Congress throughout the wheat belt as virtually to cancel out any GOP hope of controlling Congress in '61.

No Vote At All

The world's attention has been fixed on the exhausting Congressional battle that is about to end, for this year, over how to give substance to the Negroes' formal right of suffrage. But there are few lines of copy in any newspaper outside Washington, D. C., on the fight to restore suffrage to those who live in the nation's capital. District residents are not merely denied in practice what they are due in principle; they are forbidden by law to register a choice in any election.

Bills to restore Home Rule to the District have been introduced in each session and been bottled up by the House District Committee, which for a variety of reasons, not the least of them the growing Negro population in Washington, has not wanted to relinquish its control over the city's affairs. But this year, self-government has got one foot well in the door; another shove might take it all the way. Home Rule has been approved by the Senate, and a discharge petition in the House is now within 34 signatures of the needed number. If the bill reaches the House floor, it can probably be passed. The key is in the hands of the Republicans.

More than 80 percent of the non-Southern Democrats and only 26 percent of the House Republicans have signed the petition. The Democrats believe they can ring in an additional 20 signers, including some Representatives who earlier signed the civil rights petition: for example, King and Saund of California, Brewster of Maryland, Griffiths and Rabaut of Michigan, Coad and Breeding of Iowa and Denton of Indiana. All the Republicans have to do is find 14 more of their party who will sign up – 14 out of 112 who have not.

Another opportunity is given Mr. Nixon to add authenticity to his self-portrait as the man who gets things done. He, the President and their party are all recorded in favor of Home Rule. But only three of California's 14 Republican Congressmen have signed the discharge petition. If the Vice President were to pick up the phone and call Minority Leader Halleck, and follow this with a call on his fellow Californian and staunchest House supporter, Robert Wilson, more than the necessary 219 names would soon appear on the petition.

Stroessner of the Free World

General Alfredo Stroessner of Paraguay, the last remaining dictator in South America, is a lonely man. Newspapers and Paraguayan exiles in neighboring Bolivia and Brazil carry on a constant campaign against him. Argentina has placed an embargo on lumber shipments down the Paraná River and openly aided the abortive invasion of Paraguay last December by rebels from the Argentine province of Formosa. Half a million Paraguayans, nearly one-third of the population, are in exile from police brutality and the lowest standard of living on the continent (per capita income last year was under $100). Prominent members of the Catholic hierarchy have denounced the dictator, and so have some leaders of his own party. Stroessner's uncertain hold on power depends on his secret police, his well-equipped 12,000 man army, and the traditional policy of *encierro* (jail), *destierro* (exile), and *entierro* (the cemetery).

Under these circumstances, money and moral support from the North have been exceptionally welcome. Despite the Nixon-Milton Eisenhower recommendation of "an *abrazo* for democratic leaders, and a formal handshake for dictators," Paraguay, which spends 45 percent of its budget on armaments, has received half as much in ICA grants as her giant (and democratic) neighbor, Brazil. The International Monetary Fund has lent Stroessner $5.5 million every year since 1957, and made available a stand-by credit of $53 million; American funds have been used to build a new road into the Chaco, to provide drinking water and a jet aircraft runway for the capital city and to train and equip the Paraguayan Army, Navy and Air Force. The commonest sights in

CORRECTION

In the article by George Edwards ("Judge, I Told That Boy" – *NR*, March 28, p. 12), the percentage of broken homes in the United States by divorce, death or desertion should have read *11* percent, *not 1.1* percent.

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Asunción today are beggars and shiny new US cars.

Stroessner has done his best to satisfy his benefactors. There are no foreign exchange controls, and the "investment climate [is] attractive to foreign investors." The dictator has crushed the Communists along with all other opposition parties, and is "firmly oriented" toward what the State Department likes to call "free-world objectives." He even held Congressional elections last March 13 (under martial law, and with opposition party candidates in jail), although he has publicly declared that "democracy is too luxurious for Paraguay to afford." Shortly after the election he sent a request to Washington for $13 million in cash loans to meet unpaid bills.

In the face of the continent-wide swing away from dictatorship, the Stroessner regime is not likely to last very long. Opposition leaders in exile in Argentina are steadily gathering strength, although there is a dispute over methods. Paraguayan exiles in Buenos Aires presented a memorandum to President Eisenhower during his recent visit, asking the US to cut off military and monetary aid to the Stroessner regime. Unless we do so fairly soon, any future democratic regime in Paraguay will be sure to remember with bitterness, which nation was a friend to its enemy.

DOWN, DOWN, DOWN SINCE THE GENERAL ELECTION

Decline of the Labour Party

by Hugh Massingham

London

Since its defeat in the last general election – the third in succession – the British Labour Party has gone from bad to worse. Its fortunes have never been so low as at the moment. Take one depressing example. Six months ago the Conservatives were returned to power by a majority of 100 – as safe a margin as any government after two terms of office can expect even in its most extravagant hours of optimism. By now the mood of the electorate ought to have changed. The British are not politically illiterate and many liberal-minded people who voted Tory at the last election – and they did so because they were slightly less afraid of the Conservatives than they were of the Socialists – read the results with a feeling of alarm. They had not bargained on providing the Tories with such a triumphal chariot.

Given this situation, one would have expected an immediate swing against the government, and the extraordinary thing is that it has not happened. The other day we had the first test of public opinion since October. There were two by-elections and both have been an utter humiliation for the Labour Party. First of all, the Socialists lost one of their precious seats. The second by-election was even worse. The Labour candidate was forced into third place by the despised Liberals who had not fought the seat for 10 years.

It is true that these two by-elections came at an unfortunate time for the Labour Party. Polling took place on a Thursday and early in the same week every British newspaper carried the astonishing news that Mr. Gaitskell had quarrelled with Mr. R. H. S. Crossman, one of his chief lieutenants, and had bounced him from his official position as the spokesman on pensions. Then the day before polling the hierarchy met to decide the issue that has distracted the party since the general election – the question as to whether the Labour Movement is socialist in tooth and claw or whether it is a reformist, social-democratic party as Labour is in Denmark and Sweden and elsewhere. The prophets were full of gloom. After all, this is a fundamental problem, and it seemed to the pessimists that the leadership was bound to disagree and that the party would then infallibly fall to pieces. To everybody's delight the meeting passed off in the greatest goodwill and without any of the recriminations, the bitter exchanges, which have so often made a mockery of Labour's claim to stand for the brotherhood of man.

All the same the Crossman affair and the long anguish over the party's basic beliefs have obviously antagonized the electorate. Although there are Conservatives, both inside and outside the House, who are critical of the government, the public still does not believe that Mr. Gaitskell adds up to a possible Prime Minister. On present form the only sight he is likely to get of No. 10 Downing Street is from the top of a bus.

The low morale of the Labour Party seems all the more inexplicable because it emerged from the last election more united, in better heart, and with higher hopes than at any time for years. Mr. Gaitskell and Mr. Bevan

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had proved they could work together and Mr. Gaitskell had appeared to grow in stature every time he spoke. True, he had been badly defeated, but on the other hand the party had the consolation of knowing that it had fought a brave, and even a brilliant, campaign – and that its defeat was not really due to its own shortcomings. The Tories timed the election very cleverly. The unemployment of the previous winter had largely disappeared except for a few obstinate black spots; new cars were pouring on to the roads and even in the humblest home the television set competed with the nightingale and the lark. In this sort of atmosphere it is not surprising that the Labour Party lost. It would have been a miracle if the Socialists had won.

So despite their disappointments the rank-and-file returned to Westminster in fighting spirits. It was not only that the survivors were relieved to find that they were still alive. Now that the enemy had such a safe majority, the Tories would no longer bother to conceal their well-known deformity. The cloven hoof would be ostentatiously brandished and the poor deluded public would come to realize how foolish they had been to reject the rule of the saints. At home the faces of the poor would be ground down to the bone. Abroad it was taken for granted that the government would adopt a violently reactionary policy toward the colonial peoples. "This is Africa year," Socialists chuckled when they first gathered after the election; and by this they meant that the Tories would presently stir up some new revolt there that would outrage the public and give the Labour Party the ideal chance to expose the government and even hound it out of office.

This comforting analysis has proved wrong for two reasons. In the first place Mr. Macmillan is not a reactionary. In fact the Labour Party has always misunderstood and underestimated him. The dandified airs, the outbursts of arrogance, his wicked sense of humor all suggest to his opponents that he is an old-fashioned Tory who would dearly love to reverse the social trend of the modern world. Mr. Macmillan does, of course, miss the leisurely graces of Edwardian days – the weekend house parties in ducal mansions, the whole sophisticated comedy of a secure, upper-class life. But he is also a realist and he knows that no politician who lives in a revolutionary age such as ours can hope to put the clock back if he wants to survive.

Mr. Macmillan declared his mind immediately the government was returned. He put Mr. Iain Macleod in charge of the Colonial Office, and Mr. Macleod is a young man every American interested in British politics should watch with the greatest care. He has not only more flair for politics than any of his opposite numbers in the Labour Party; what is so important is that he has firmly planted himself on the liberal wing of the Conservatives and is at present pursuing a policy in Africa that is far more radical and daring than anything we could have expected if the Socialists had been returned. Indeed, during the recent Kenya conference, some of the white settlers emerged looking so shaken that they seemed to be expecting a tumbrel rather than a taxi to drive them to their hotels.

The second miscalculation of the Socialists was that their party would remain united. The struggle of Mr. Gaitskell to wean the movement from what he regards as its extreme views on nationalization is a long story – too long for the pages of *The New Republic*. What brave changes there were going to be! The Labour Party was to be streamlined and given a modern look. The old Commandments on nationalization, handed down to the pioneers from on high – Jehovah is one of the original founders of the party – were no longer relevant; in short, the movement would repent and agree that private enterprise has its rightful place in a mixed British economy.

In the special conference Labour held two months after the election, Mr. Gaitskell argued that the party must define its attitude more exactly because the Tories had successfully pretended that, if Labour were returned, it would nationalize everything from the steel industry to the local garage. In other words the object of the exercise was to make it perfectly plain where the Labour Party stands on this issue. Now, after months of recrimination and anger, Mr. Gaitskell and his colleagues have produced a new constitution that can be interpreted as committing the movement either to more Socialism or to less, according to taste. The Tories are naturally delighted. When the next general election comes it looks as if the slaughter will be appalling. Every Socialist candidate (and nobody is quite sure whether the word "Socialist" still applies) will be asked if he believes in the Old Testament or the New, and the answers will be so contradictory that Labour will be made to appear both confused and dishonest. It hardly seems the ideal way to win a war.

Mr. Gaitskell has now lost a great deal of the authority that he built up for himself during the election; he is blamed by those who believe that the controversy was futile and unnecessary and by those who feel that he has agreed to a compromise which leaves the confusion as tangled as it was in the past. There is no question, at least at the moment, of his being forced out of the leadership, if only because Mr. Aneurin Bevan, his only serious rival, is still a sick man. What contenders there are would, if they challenged him, look like bantam boxers trying to enter for a heavyweight championship. Even so the outlook could hardly be grimmer. Unless Mr. Gaitskell can pull some new magic out of his hat, or the government makes some appalling blunder, the chances are that the Labour Party will continue to bore the public. And a democracy that is without an effective and resolute opposition is never so soundly based as it should be.

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Who'll Buy My Floor Stock?

The Joneses Are Shopping for Other Things

by Helen Hill Miller

What new form will be taken by the old American custom of keeping up with the Joneses now that there are so many more Joneses in the country?

The Joneses, that typical American family of middle and upper-middle income, used to set the pattern for the economically and socially ambitious and numerous Smiths, who panted along behind. But in recent years, a very great many of the Smiths have come up in the world and can now properly take the name of Jones. Today, the great bulk of American families cluster close together in the middle-income brackets. And as this happens, the American standard of living ceases to be a standard to which most people aspire; it becomes a way of life at which most people have arrived. What new standards will replace the older one?

As they came up in the world, the Smiths went into market after market for the thrill of a first-time buy. Their desire – to own a house, a car, a refrigerator that was both as good as and the same as the next man's – made the assembly-lines' wheels go round. Now, among the familiar goods that characterize the American consumer's way of life, more and more shopping is shopping for replacements. And that kind of shopping is relatively dull.

What does this change mean in the technique of American merchandising and in the development of American taste? From the salesman's angle, what is the difference between inciting the Smiths to keep up with the Joneses, and enticing the Joneses along paths hitherto favored by the Smiths? The search for answers to these questions can begin with a look at the Joneses as they live. In the 60's, how does it feel to be a Jones?

Increasingly, the Joneses are neither farm folk nor city-dwellers; they inhabit the in-between rings of one of the unwieldy developments that go by the unwieldy name of "standard metropolitan areas." Everything about these communities is new since World War II. The Joneses' ranch house, or split-level, has been duplicated by the million for people in their income class. Every September, more Jones children pile into schools where the ferroconcrete has just set and the paint is hardly dry. On Sunday—unless Dad ducks out for a round of golf – the whole family solidly exhibits its membership in a new church. Mrs. Jones, except when she has in mind something very big or very special and goes to town for it in every sense of the word, does her buying at neighborhood stores put up for her convenience. By carpool or in his own, Mr. Jones joins the daily two-way trek to and from the central city, or to and from a new industrial plant in what used to be a cornfield over a network of highways so new that bulldozers are still chewing out additional traffic lanes. And while the Jones family doesn't think much about it unless something goes wrong, there's a new network of sewers and water mains out their way, too.

All of this has cost money, but the Joneses are not only well-fixed to pay for it, they are becoming better-fixed all the time. Ten years ago, America's middle income was $3,300; last year, it was $5,050. Today, the Joneses' income bracket of $4,000-$6,000 a year is the income bracket of nearly 14 million households – every fourth family in the United States.

Of course, the persistent upward climb of prices has kept the improvement from being as good as it looks on paper – Mrs. Jones would be glad to furnish voluble and aggrieved details. And three recessions in ten years, as Mr. Jones can testify, have taken some unforeseen bites. But even so, the Joneses' real purchasing power has been growing faster than ever before.

And both the number of families and the number of people in the families who enjoy this income has grown at the same time. Moreover, the Joneses and the Smiths not only have more income, but have it during the best years of their lives; the fathers of the families with middle and upper-middle incomes are younger than they used to be. The fathers, though, don't bring home all the bacon by themselves; many of the families now living high on the hog are where they are because Mrs. Jones takes on a paid job in addition to her housework, especially after her youngest is safely deposited in school. The girls who graduate this June will, if the most reliable current forecasts are correct, spend an average of 25 years in paid employment before their first social security checks come in.

Another reason why more families have more income is because a good many of the Smiths moved up into the Jones bracket by changing jobs. Quite a lot of the Smith girls have been getting work in stores or offices instead of going out as domestic servants; rather than doing common labor, the Smith boys have found open-

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ings stocking shelves in supermarkets, manning filling stations, working in increasingly automated industry.

Likewise, there has been a big movement out of the occupations in which a man is his own boss. Proprietors of family businesses, farmers, professional men working on their own, all seem to be vanishing species. (Almost one family in five depended on such earnings at the end of the 1940's; less than one in eight does so now.) Their disappearance has been paralleled by a rise in the number of people working for salaries as corporation managers, executives, or professional staff.

The efficiencies, high yields, and built-in security of big organization likewise show up in the paychecks of the factory workers and craftsmen from which every third family gets its support. Much of the recent upgrading of standards of living has come from this source. By and large, the heads of these families can count on basic pay for 40 hours a week, 52 weeks a year, and while unemployment or bad weather can make sharp cuts in their take, overtime frequently makes substantial additions.

So the days, chronic for millions of American families in the early years of the century, and acute again during the Great Depression, when the utmost stretching of the budget could do no more than keep body and soul together, are now a generation past; for the majority of Americans now living, they belong not to memory but to history.

New Needs of the Consumers

In the economic revolution following World War II, middle income families have had enough money left over after covering hand-to-mouth items to remake the landscape of America by the purchase of durable goods. That is why housing, rather than food, has recently become top banana among family expenditures. The Joneses move fairly often – but they like a nice place to live. They are keen on owning their home, or at least having an equity in it, and more than half of them do.

Similarly, the portion of income spent for cars has gone up and the portion spent for clothing has gone down. An inventory of grandmother's trousseau, and of the layettes which she required subsequently, looks strange beside a shopping list that reads: Bermuda shorts, plastic table mats, disposable diapers. And today, while Mrs. Jones may rarely put on a hat, she likes to go places. The prices of cars and plane tickets and other public transportation have been rising fast, but the family is determined to fly jets across continents.

The $55 billion worth of consumer credit outstanding is a measure of the Joneses' confidence that they will keep right on being able to pay for their capital goods. The slimness of some of their equities may be reflected in the bumper tag "39 more payments and it's mine," but from house and car to washing machine and weight-reducing electric vibrator, one out of two American families optimistically schedule a weekly or monthly commitment.

And the capital goods that the Joneses buy across a counter or through a sales contract are only part of their purchases under this heading.

No description of the new American landscape can be complete without noticing the capital goods they purchase through voluntary cooperative effort, among which churches are the most conspicuous. The construction industry now ranks church building among its billion dollar businesses. Most medium-sized towns support several church budgets in the $50,000 range, though this figure looks like chicken feed in Texas, where the largest churches have budgets that top the half-million dollar mark, and where some church officials think it only fitting to supply their pastor with an air-conditioned Cadillac.

Moreover, the Joneses also buy capital goods through their tax bills – schools, roads, fire houses, military installations and hardware. The need for local facilities, redoubled by the move to the suburbs, is now being again redoubled by the population boom. The need for research, development and production of the national security items required to move this country up from second place could well make the allocation of resources to private consumption in the 1950's seem like a wallowing and a wastage that will not soon be repeated. Growing portions of the Jones' income are thus being put into funds which are spent by committees – either private committees running various sorts of associations, or elected public committees sitting as local, state or federal legislatures. In the future, over-the-counter transactions by the Joneses themselves will probably make up a smaller percentage of their income – though not necessarily a smaller dollar amount. A new division of resources between public and private account, and a new basis of allocation for those that remain to private account, may both come together, replacing the incentive of "keeping up with the Joneses" which has been the motive force in American life for generations.

That private, get-ahead incentive provided the cohesion of the new society during the period of immigration, giving definition of purpose to millions who wanted a new world enough to go after it, and who, having arrived, were willing enough to take it on its own terms. Now, for the great majority, its terms have been more or less fulfilled. Henceforth, will a desire for a stronger defense posture, more and better education, more local public facilities, increase interest in public budgets? And at the same time, will the composition of private budgets be less subject to public pressure? Will consumer resistance to the advertisers' "buy, buy, buy," increase? In the acquisition of family possessions, will the pursuit of the standardized what-everybody-ought-to-have be replaced by more personalized, selective

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purchasing? If so, a big change is on its way, not only in the market, but in the buyers who make the market.

Recent expenditures of some of the families who now have all the standard equipment point in this direction. True, many families are using their extra money simply to award themselves fringe benefits as supplements to their current living scales. Thus, and in logical sequence, the woman who has an automatic washer begins to think about a dryer. Furniture salesmen perk up as the dining room, dropped from the plans of many postwar homes, stages a comeback. Because of volume distribution, prices are coming down on prefab swimming pools. Auto dealers urge a second car; realtors propose a second house – how about a beach cottage or a cabin in the mountains? People continue to buy built-in service: pre-processed foods, wash 'n wear garments, power lawn mowers.

But in addition to these items, new highs are being reached in the Do It Yourself lines, and the market for some of these is a new kind of market.

The proverbial care with which a French woman chooses a carrot is in part because she is a canny customer, and in part because she knows a lot about carrots. The Joneses too are becoming cannier. A family that is on its way up can be told, Buy This, and you'll be like the Joneses. A family that has arrived can't be told much of anything; it can only be advised.

Illustrating the new canniness, a recent study of consumer intentions showed that this year's buyers of used cars are shopping around; they don't intend to pay as much as last year. Families that expect to do some fixing on the house are figuring a way to shave last year's bill by a cool hundred dollars. The rising cost of illness is increasingly hedged by hospital, medical, surgical insurance. Shoppers for replacements are old hands; they don't intend to be fooled – at least not in the same way – twice. Selling goods to such customers is a very different job from selling to people bemused by the wonder of first possession.

When the Joneses Get Choosey

But still more different is the job of selling to customers whose preferences are based on their own taste rather than on social norms.

Take hi-fi. Sales of phonographs uncombined with radio or TV, many of them personally home-fitted, are soaring. Their owners talk discerningly of their music libraries; arguments as to whether one recording is better than another indicate that they not only shop but listen. A desire to produce, rather than just to reproduce, music is a natural extension of this discrimination – orchestras and chamber music groups in the country now number in the tens of thousands. Many communities have accepted the idea that henceforth support for the creative and the performing arts can no longer be by wealthy patrons only – death and income taxes have taken care of most of them – but by people of middle income; many communities have established United Givers Funds for this and other public purposes.

Comparable opportunity for the exercise of personal taste is afforded by the paid vacations that are now built into the Joneses' living standard; their annual prospect keeps the family poring over travel folders. The new influx of visitors to the National Parks hardly leaves room for the bears; the State Department's record issuance of passports shows people on their way to visit African game preserves or fly to Tokyo over the Pole. Purchases of boats, fishing tackle, camp equipment; reservations at resorts; sales of family-rate air-coach tickets show where the new money goes. But for a successful trip, you yourself have to know what you like that you have done before, or what you are curious to do that's new – fewer and fewer customers want a package deal simply on someone else's say-so.

And the power to choose according to personal preference includes the power to withdraw from the market as well as to enter it. Today's Joneses, if they don't see what they want, are well enough equipped so that without inconvenience they can wait until they do see it. The makers of big cars have found that out the hard way. For years – generations, even – the Smiths who were trying to keep up with the Joneses were told, and believed, that bigger is always better. But after almost everybody was flashing fins around, after there were over fifty million cars on the road, owning one as a status symbol wasn't what it used to be. People began to ask questions about miles per gallon, space to park. They began to go to automobile dealers to *buy cars*.

The newcomer in any society, particularly the immigrant on the way up, is not permitted to boo. But the established member of society can enjoy this right with the impunity of a fan at a baseball game. For the Joneses, this is a first-time thrill strictly comparable to the old thrill of the first-time buy. The Joneses have booed the fins off the drawing boards, and made a discovery in doing so. The discovery is making over the American salesman. And it is making over the Joneses.

The American salesman's task now becomes one of tempting the Joneses in areas where discrimination counts, areas that have previously been exclusive preserves of the Smiths. Instead of pushing his customers with "Buy one – everybody's doing it," he suggests with new-found delicacy that the item in question appeals to The Best People. The new market is part snobbery and part taste. Those on the frontier of the just-discovered territory now open to the American middle class will often find it presented as a world of the U and the Non-U, the In and the Out. Yet, observing that the U's and the In's act on standards that are set by personal choice, the Joneses may find courage to have their own private preferences, and act on them.

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THE PROBLEM OF THE FRONT-RUNNER

Aided by the polls, the primaries and intensive organization, the drive to obtain the Democratic Presidential nomination for John F. Kennedy on the first ballot has shifted into high-gear. The Kennedy strategy is based on the simple proposition that nothing succeeds like success, that Kennedy cannot be denied the nomination, and that with him as the candidate the defeat of Nixon is assured. The Senator's proven popularity, his voting record, his poise and confidence and his appeal to Catholic voters are all cited as evidence that he is the *unmistakable winner. But in the article which follows, Professor Lowi of the Department of Government at Cornell University looks at the way conventions behave and analyzes some of the hazards that must be overcome by any would-be nominee who comes to Los Angeles as the front-runner.*

Ritual and Power

Senator Kennedy and the First Ballot

by Theodore Lowi

On January 25, Mr. William Lawrence wrote for *The New York Times:* "As many Democrats view it, the contest for the Democratic nomination will be separated into several heats, like a trotting race. Senator Kennedy's opportunity will come on the first few ballots. Many believe he must win then. They say his chances will fade if he has not garnered the required 761 votes by the third or fourth ballot. If favorite sons and others with the little chance of eventual nomination hold their votes beyond the second ballot, Senator Kennedy's chances of victory are expected to drop. . . ."

On the basis of past convention experience this is certainly a reasonable hypothesis. But it begs a number of fascinating political questions. There is a kind of pat, inevitable quality about the report (and many earlier reports by other writers) which tends to make Power no more than Act V of the political passion play. When the innocent ask "Why?" to a matter of ritual, we can only answer, "Just because."

Indeed, all of American politics possesses a strong element of folk drama – the acting out, through ritual, of certain legends or events which symbolize and reaffirm important community values. Except perhaps for its blatancy and lack of restraint, the ceremonial aspect of the nominating convention illustrates an important law of politics; the mark of legitimacy in any form of political power is achieved by the performance of the proper rituals, of "due process." Every political system possesses its own peculiar body of humbug.

The Republicans, for example, will be hard put to find a ritual-surrogate for a wide-open Nixon-Rockefeller battle. The excitement and consequent free publicity of such a contest would have been priceless, for the convention is a part of the campaign. But more important, Nixon's position as the "rightful" candidate is endangered to the extent that the TV-viewer is deprived of the excitement of uncertainty and the proper resolution of the contest.

However, the convention is not entirely folk drama because the actors must eventually make a collective decision involving high stakes. And the maneuvering of candidates and delegates for this purpose takes place at an entirely different, although not insulated level.

What peculiarity of the American political tradition demands that the Democrat's 1960 nominating contest be separated into heats, like a trotting race? What quirk of nature or American national character foreordains Kennedy's collapse if he fails to make a grand slam during the first round of bidding? Short of disaster, Kennedy will go to the convention with far and away the strongest position: Why are all of us so positive that this very position places him in such peril?

Mr. Lawrence and his Democratic sources view the contest as a series of heats. This is not an appropriate analogy because the very rules of the nominating contest change after the first heat; that is to say, the second heat is an entirely different game, which happens to take place on the same racetrack. Without doing too

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much violence to this insiders' view, let us convert their notion into terms of personal strategy.

Kennedy and Humphrey are playing what I choose to call "first-ballot" strategy. This, of course, extends beyond the actual first ballot if the delegations hold essentially their first ballot positions. Senators Symington, Johnson and Governor Brown are, in these terms, playing "second-ballot" or "post-first-ballot" strategies. And the favorite sons and other types of "availables" – the number of whom grows as a function of uncertainty – are either king-makers-apparent (*e.g.*, Williams); thinly-veiled supporters of major candidates who switch later on to give their candidates the image of growing strength of "power potential" (*e.g.*, the De Sapio-New York "regular" wing for Kennedy) or just plain favorite sons (*e.g.*, Happy Chandler). All are possible dark horses, and the 1960 Adlai Stevenson is probably the best-known dark horse in American history.

The Blitzkrieg Strategy

It is Kennedy's strategy to come to the Convention with strength sufficient for *blitzkrieg*. Kennedy might well be able to roll into Los Angeles on an armor-plated bandwagon. But even the most spectacular primary victories will alone not give him such an impact. He must in advance of the convention attract the unpledged delegates, especially the potential Johnsonians.

To reach the bandwagon level, Kennedy must perform the role of the professional politician *vis-à-vis* other professional politicians: to deal. At the dealing stage, policies are not of great importance although the peculiar character of the winning coalition cannot fail to influence the policy direction of the winning candidates. The deal might involve commitments on personnel, including the Vice Presidential nominee as is illustrated by Garner's nomination in 1932. But above all, in securing the nomination, votes become the currency of political transactions. In Kennedy's case the deal will be a contingent one like the following: "Senator, I'll support you on the first go-round if you will come along with my second choice once it is clear you cannot win."

Kennedy is perfectly free to make a number of deals which, taken together, are inconsistent and mutually exclusive. By convention time it is very likely that he will have agreed privately, or left the impression that he has perhaps agreed, to support more than just one of the second-ballot candidates. To still other pros he will have agreed not to support a second-ballot candidate at all but to release his delegates to seek their own choices.

These are honorable deals, honorable both in moral and legal terms, for he will have added a simple proviso to them all. Senator Taft's analysis of the reasons for his 1952 defeat sums up this aspect of the strategy very well: "... If a deadlock had been created after the first ballot, I would have been glad to reconsider the whole situation and would have been glad to withdraw in favor of some other candidate holding my general views, if it had been clear that I could not be nominated *and that he would have been stronger on the second ballot than I.*" (*The New York Times*, November 25, 1959, p. 14. Emphasis added.)

Regardless of the exact nature of the deals, however, the "pols" can proceed with their second-ballot arrangements in essentially the same way. For they can misrepresent or simply guess Kennedy's own second choice, and rumor – the medium of mass communication – will provide proof for any surmise. The fact that the information was poor or false simply adds to the confusion as the second heat gets under way – if, indeed, a second heat is necessary.

For many of these contingent Kennedy men, the so-called second choice is privately the *real* preference. And, as it is the function and supposed skill of the professional to "engineer consent," the pro turns to other delegations, packing his Kennedy contract. His line would be something like this: "As you know, I'm supporting Jack on the first ballot, knowing full well that he cannot win. But Jack has agreed to my man (a Symington or a Stevenson) once his defeat is clear." A series of such interlocking agreements will encourage many delegations to hold out for further tests of power, and as such can block Kennedy's quest for the majority.

Thus, Kennedy as the first-ballot strategist can become the keystone of the arch of his enemies. His original agreements tend to solidify privately his opposition. There is no evil power elite at work here. The force able to carry off such a conspiracy without using bribery or intimidation would deserve to be the winning force. Kennedy's early agreements become the resources of men who, acting rationally, use them for counter-organization purposes.

Estes Kefauver's 1952 attempt provides an excellent illustration. A large part of his group – especially those who won in contested primaries – were basically hostile to party organizations and the kinds of questionable dealings associated with them. Kefauver led on the first ballot with 339½ votes (27.6 percent); on the second ballot he was up to 362½, his highest point. On the third ballot before any switching began, he had dropped 83 votes, all of which had fled to Stevenson. These were accompanied by the original supporters of Harriman, other favorite sons and the uncommitted.

All first ballot leaders have faced the problem Kennedy will face in July. In the Democratic Party, from 1900 to 1956, *not a single first ballot leader succeeded in winning the nomination – unless that lead was already a majority*. There were four such cases: Clark in 1912, McAdoo in 1920 and 1924, and Kefauver in 1952.

Prior to 1936, Democratic Party rules required a two-thirds majority for nomination. This hardly alters the above rule or the appropriate strategies of the pre-1936

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era. Rather, there was then an even better chance to prove the rule. Under those conditions, it is remarkable that any candidate ever openly sought the nomination. The 1936 change was indeed a change for the better, for since then successful opposition to the first ballot leader must be more than a majority – which better suits our democratic creed.

In the Republican Party, whose conventions have supposedly been less open, better managed, Leonard Wood (1920) and Thomas Dewey (1940) failed after a relatively strong lead on the first ballot.

Hughes in 1916 and Dewey in 1948 did capture the nomination after a first ballot lead of less than a majority; and Kennedy might hope to copy them. (Eisenhower's first ballot lead was also less than a majority, but it was a bandwagon 49.3 percent.) Dewey, however, was after all titular head of his party at this point. Furthermore, his strongest competitor, Taft, was undisputed Congressional leader. Taft's organization strength and his extreme policy position would have stimulated quite as much counter-organization as the first ballot leader himself. It is very likely that Stassen refused to join a "Stop Dewey" movement because of fear that the result would be a Taft nomination.

In sum, the early lead is a treacherous position, for it is the one most palpable factor as the convention opens. The leader is only one of many "real first choices" among the delegates, and it is all too likely that a majority can agree that the first ballot leader is *not* the man for the nomination. For the first ballot leader, early will almost inevitably mean *premature*, for there is yet time to arrange for his defeat. And, while there is in a truly contested convention much less than a majority of first choices for any one man, it is altogether likely that one of the available candidates enjoys a majority of second or third choice among the delegates. The excellent new Brookings Institution study (*The Politics of National Party Conventions*) concludes that this was very much the case of Stevenson in 1952.

If There Is Evidence of Weakness

A man in Kennedy's position cannot be unaware of these possibilities. He is willing to make some contracts on the chance that they will never have to be honored. These are the deals he must make (except for the two or three delegations chosen by binding primaries) with the favorite sons and any other politician who appears to control more votes than his own. The convention opens not as an unstructured gathering of 1,500 tradition-directed individuals in 50-some-odd ceremonial delegations, but as an indeterminate number of coalitions of indetermined (and overestimated) size. These coalitions are ready to be reshuffled according to changing assessments of upcoming stress. The organizing force of the convention is provided by the candidates, and the organizing mechanism is *contingency*. It is the contingency of the deal which makes the nature and size of the coalitions unaccessible and so ephemeral.

When will the contingencies become actualities? Judging from past conventions, the payoff will come the moment Kennedy shows any evidence of weakness. I will not be so bold as to predict that the critical point will come at the moment Kennedy ceases to *gain* substantially. To the Pros this will be proof enough that Kennedy cannot win. It will be considered evidence enough morally to justify release from their first-ballot agreement, and the search will begin for the most widely shared second or third preference among delegates. Again, Senator Taft:

"It was probably a mistake to take a vote [on the rules changes early in the convention] because it showed that the combined forces against us controlled the convention, but even a concession on our part would also have been regarded as a sign of weakness [by Warren, Stassen and leaders like Summerfield, Fine and McKeldin]. The key vote came on the Georgia contest, where we lost the equivalent of 17 votes because of the new rule, [we] fell below our estimates in New York . . . and . . . lost from our estimates four in Michigan, three in New Jersey, three in Nebraska and single votes in other states. . . .

"After the Eisenhower forces, with the assistance of Warren and Stassen, took 39 votes away from us and gave them to Eisenhower [as an outcome of the fight over the Georgia and Texas delegations] . . . our prospective strength on the first ballot fell well below his strength, and he had all the bandwagon advantage which we would otherwise have had."

Two distinct elements emerge from Taft's post-mortem. First, it was not so much the absolute difference between Taft and Eisenhower which doomed Taft, but the morale created by his earlier losses. Second, the changes involved in an insignificant proportion of the total convention vote.

The Kennedy collapse in Los Angeles – if it comes, and if it does not this analysis becomes moot – will be as immediate and thorough as the cue is simple. Of course, some delegates will remain loyal to the bitter end, at least right up to the tailgate of the bandwagon. This kind of collapse Kennedy knows already too well from his experience in 1956 against Kefauver. It is perhaps ironic that Kennedy's position as Presidential contender will be so similar right down to the last primary to Kefauver's in 1952, except that Kennedy will probably be much more formidable.

A Kennedy collapse will not be proof that Kennedy's strength was more apparent than real. It will simply prove again that political power can take many forms. First-ballot convention power is *sui generis;* it is total power or no power at all; it is brilliant, but good for only one go.

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No Taste for Trivia

Looking backward, it is easy to see that FPA was an extravagance beyond the means of the modern generation; yet little was said of this in the obituaries that appeared in the newspapers when Franklin Pierce Adams died last month. The reason, no doubt, is that money was not involved. When FPA flourished as a writer – roughly, during the first 30 years of the 20th Century – Americans had less money than they have today; and extravagance not involving money is a concept that we find it hard to accept. Yet it is sound.

The initials, FPA, as a matter of fact, designated an individual only incidentally. Primarily, FPA was an institution, a type of journalism as extinct as the dinosaur, and for the same reason, an unfavorable change in the environment. His was a kind of thing that could be supported only by lavish expenditure of time, and of intellectual and emotional energy. In the early days of the century these resources were abundant in America; thus Adams was able to flourish, and not be alone but also Don Marquis and Christopher Morley in New York, Bert Leston Taylor and Keith Preston in Chicago, and, less conspicuously, others elsewhere.

Adams was overtaken by a form of disaster common among wits, the overload of a too-successful jape. As Proctor Knott was haunted forever by "Duluth, Zenith City of the unsalted seas," and as Gelett Burgess had to carry the burden of the Purple Cow, so Adams was tagged with

> Words that are weighty with nothing but trouble:
> Tinker, to Evers, to Chance,

and is known to this generation merely as a writer of light verse. Few appreciate him as one of the great educators of his time.

But that he was. True, what he taught was that learning is agreeable, not that it is moral or useful; and that doctrine the pious have always regarded as heretical. Nevertheless, it is a tradition of respectable antiquity, the tradition of Addison, Steele, Lamb and Hazlitt in England, and of the Hartford Wits in this country.

It was never a matter of earth-shaking importance to render in colloquial English the real spirit of a line from Quintus Horatius Flaccus, or Publius Ovidus Naso, but it was an intellectual exercise requiring precise knowledge and discriminating taste. Neither foreign nor domestic policy was perceptibly affected by encouraging Americans to write rondeaux and villanelles that were technically correct and also graceful; but it added to the sum total of human happiness without leading to delirium tremens or the psychoanalyst's couch.

Adams' evocation of the spirit of Samuel Pepys – and Morley's that of Sir Kenelm Digby and Marquis' creation *de novo* of Archy the cockroach and Mehitabel the cat – may have been no literary master works, but they charmed a generation with leisure to be charmed as effectively as Sir Roger de Coverly did.

But there is the catch – a generation that read *The Conning Tower*, or *The Sun Dial*, or *The Bowling Green*, had leisure to be charmed, intelligence enough to appreciate the satire in Dulcinea the beautiful idiot, emotional stability enough to applaud

> believe me you
> i never sing blue
> there s a dance or two
> in the old dame still
> i never sing blue
> wotthehell bill

No doubt we are still in possession of these qualities, but are we richly endowed enough to expend them upon trivialities known to be trivial? To a superficial observer the answer seems to be in the negative. Trivialities still absorb us, to be sure, but not unless we mistake them for profundities.The intellectual effort required to translate an ode of Horace into slang was effort deliberately and knowingly thrown away; but the effort to translate into comprehensible English a statement by Eisenhower we regard as fruitful endeavor, no man knowing why.

Well, Franklin P. Adams is dead, and FPA has been dead 20-odd years. We are more solemn, but are we actually more serious than Bert Leston Taylor when he remarked that

> When men are calling names and making faces,
> And all the world's ajangle and ajar,
> I meditate on interstellar spaces
> And smoke a mild seegar;

and are we any safer? It remains to be proved. Sadder, yes, but wiser? Who knows?

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Where There Is No Understanding

by Frederic W. Collins

This is an unsolicited testimonial, offered because this little book, 58 pages over-all, selling for $1.75, seems to be one of those rare ones holding insight and thought which might help improve the present and the future. It was given as the Rede Lecture at Cambridge in 1959, published in two parts in *Encounter* last summer, and now is happily available in one piece between hard covers. The central perception has been stimulating C. P. Snow for some time,

The Two Cultures
and the Scientific Revolution
by C. P. Snow
(Cambridge; $1.75)

and he first broke into print with it in *The New Statesman* in 1956. In other words, this is no flash in the pan.

By training a scientist and by vocation a writer, Sir Charles discovered in moving between scientific and literary groups that they "had almost ceased to communicate at all." That is the basic problem he identifies, a serious problem, he believes, for the entire West: "The intellectual life of the whole of western society is increasingly being split into two polar groups . . . Literary intellectuals at one pole – at the other scientists, and as the most representative, the physical scientists. Between the two a gulf of mutual incomprehension – sometimes (particularly among the young) hostility and dislike, but most of all lack of understanding."

In his analysis, the literary intellectuals, a category roughly embracing all intellectuals who are non-scientific, don't look too good. The root differences he finds between the two cultures are indicated in his discussion of two major misunderstandings between them.

Sir Charles believes it is the scientists who are optimistic, in that they are impatient to improve man's social condition and inclined to think it can be done. He believes the literary intellectuals think otherwise of the scientists, regarding their optimism as shallow, and that this is one great misunderstanding between them.

On the other hand, he believes, with the scientists, that the opinions of those who dominated the 20th-Century literary tradition were anti-social. His saving comment is that this is not so today to any such extent as it may have been in the 1914-1950 period. But the scientists do not realize the correction, and that is a second great misunderstanding.

The distinguishing characteristic of the members of the scientific culture, Snow says, is that they have "the future in their bones." The response of the traditional culture, which does not totally comprehend science and is thus hostile, is to wish "the future did not exist." (See Snow's brutal footnote on the late George Orwell). And yet it continues to be the traditional culture "which manages the western world."

The result of the polarization is sheer loss. As, for example, intellectual loss. The scientist denies himself the riches of the traditional culture because it seems irrelevant to his interests. And so, scientists lose out in imaginative understanding. "They are self-impoverished."

The other side? "They are impoverished too – perhaps more seriously, because they are vain about it. They still like to pretend that the traditional culture is the whole of 'culture', as though the natural order didn't exist. As though the exploration of the natural order was of no interest either in its own value or its consequences. As though the scientific edifice of the physical world was not, in its intellectual depth, complexity and articulation, the most beautiful and wonderful collective work of the mind of man. Yet most non-scientists have no conception of that edifice at all. Even if they want to have it, they can't. It is rather as though, over an immense range of intellectual experience, a whole group was tone-deaf. . . .

"So the great edifice of modern physics goes up, and the majority of the cleverest people in the western world have about as much insight into it as their neolithic ancestors would have had."

A consequence: "At the heart of thought and creation we are letting some of our best chances go by default. The clashing point of two subjects, two disciplines, two cultures – of two galaxies, so far as that goes – ought to produce creative chances. In the history of mental activity that has been where some of the breakthroughs came. The chances are there now. But they are there, as it were, in a vacuum, because those in the two cultures can't talk to each other." The reasons for the existence of the two cultures have it as a correlative, Snow finds, that outside science, "the rest of western intellectuals have never tried, wanted, or been able to understand the industrial revolution, much less accept it. Intellectuals, in particular literary intellectuals, are natural Luddites." Concentrating on the price in human misery, they missed the prospect the industrial revolution was opening up, that "industrialization is the only hope of the poor."

And that brings Sir Charles straight into today's world, using "world" in the sense of the whole globe and all its people. The gains of the industrial revolution, he asserts, are the base of our social hope. But, having perhaps failed to understand the industrial revolution, the traditional culture is now faced with the paramount necessity of comprehending the new scientific revolution. That has been made by "the application of real science to industry," and Sir Charles dates it back no more than 30 or 40 years to when atomic particles were first used industrially. "I believe," he says, "the industrial society of electronics, atomic energy, automation, is in cardinal respects different in kind from any that has gone before, and will change the world much more. It is this transformation that, in my view, is entitled

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to the name of 'scientific revolution.' "

Sir Charles does not stop with identifying the problem. He has some things to say about how to solve it. He offers specifics for changes in the educational system, but says that all the changes required can be accomplished by nothing less than breaking the pattern of our society, and he is not optimistic that it can be done.

But there is no question in his mind of the need to do it. He finds it imperative to bridge the larger gap, between the rich peoples and the poor peoples of this world. To carry out the scientific revolution in India, Africa, Southeast Asia, Latin America and the Middle East within fifty years "is the one way out through the three menaces which stand in our way – H-bomb war, over-population, the gap between the rich and the poor." And: "If we don't do it, the Communist countries will in time."

But it is not so much the warnings and proposals of Sir Charles that interest us as the insight from which they take off, the definition of the two cultures and the meaning, in time of scientific revolution, of the division between them. From that insight, one can take off on his own thinking, and perhaps add to what Sir Charles here offers.

Equality by Law, Not Custom

by James E. Holton

Depending on one's proclivities, the racial disturbances in the Notting Hill district of London last year were considered either shocking or, in some small way, gratifying: the former because it was yet another blow, and from an unexpected quarter, to the development of amicable race relations; the latter because it seemed to confirm that the English, some of whom have not been loathe to criticize America's handling of the race problem in the past, are not immune from the charge of hypocrisy on the same score. Charge and countercharge aside, it is incumbent upon us to seek the reasons for racial difficulties in a country which has not encountered these same problems in the past and which, many observers felt, was equipped by temperament and circumstances to handle the problem more intelligently than it did. Mr. Banton, a British sociologist, has addressed himself to just this question. "Why," he asks, "should colored people be so often shabbily treated when the vast majority of individual Britons are favorably disposed towards them?"

White and Colored
by Michael Banton
(Rutgers; $4)

Prejudice, he suggests, is "a state of mind, a disposition unfavorable to certain persons, which may or may not find outlet in hostile behavior." Such a state of mind is not prevalent in England and yet discrimination, a form of behavior which is commonly regarded as the other side of the coin of prejudice, is widespread. The explanation of the paradox lies, for Banton, deep in the British character and situation; for example, in the insularity of the people, in the unwritten and unspoken code that guides British social life, in the traditional antipathy toward the "non-British," in the feeling that "Britishness" is the product of centuries and not to be acquired by strangers in a matter of a few years, and finally in the attitudes toward the changing status of the colonies and the British Empire itself.

The last point is extremely significant. The customary norms which guided behavior toward the Negro as a colonial ward now appear inappropriate. No concensus on new standards, however, has yet been reached. The tendency of the Englishman to waver indecisively between the old approach and the yet-unknown new accounts for much of the apparent inconsistency in his behavior toward the Negro. The English, who tend to seek guidance in tradition, find no answer in their past experience either as individuals or as a people. Moreover, the Negro, with his surface zest, spontaneity and minimum of personal and social discipline, appears to the English as the archetypal stranger. This feeling of absolute strangeness makes it extremely difficult for even the most well-intentioned to create a new place for the Negro in the existing, tightly-knit social structure. Individual Englishmen, moreover, hesitate to pioneer in developing a reasonable relationship for fear their own position in this structure may be jeopardized and themselves carried out even further to sea.

A particular merit of the present study lies in its suggestion of the complex interrelationships between law and custom. Under British law the Negro's rights and obligations have been the same as those of the whites since 1772. But few English in the past have acted on the basis of this legal premise, and only the recent rise of African nationalism has forced a re-examination of what has been the customary way of looking at the Negro and his place within the social system. Political and economic events quite unconnected with the legal may well bring the customary view in line with what has been the legal understanding for a period of almost two hundred years.

In addition to these general observations, Mr. Banton offers a fairly de-

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tailed sketch of the pattern of behavior toward the Negro as it manifests itself in such places as the dockyards, the universities, and the industrial cities. He sums up the whole in a series of empirical propositions and then offers ten commandments for the guidance of intergroup relations. Few of his propositions or commandments are startling to common sense, and yet they are not any the less valuable simply because they are already well known. The book's appendix offers some information about the interviews upon which much of the study rests. A short bibliography is also included.

THE CAMPAIGN AND ITS LITERATURE

What Are the Issues This Year?

The idea of deriving any kind of satisfaction from obsequies is, on the face of it, shocking; yet it was on such an occasion that Pericles delivered the oration that has been remembered for more than two thousand years, so perhaps it is fitting and proper that Adlai Stevenson should have taken such an occasion

Putting First Things First
A Democratic View
by Adlai E. Stevenson
(Random House; $3)

to make a finer speech than he ever delivered during his brilliant campaigns.

"Our Broken Mainspring," the second item in this collection of Stevenson's recent speeches and papers, is in form a eulogy of a dead parson, but in fact it is a passionate affirmation of the categorical imperative, a fiery demand that American leaders summon the American people to do the right thing because it is right, not merely because it is profitable or able or expedient.

One reads it and stares, incredulous. Is this Adlai Stevenson, the polished, the witty, the urbane – this outcry *de profundis*, this thunder of Old Testament prophecy? Well, no. This is not the official Stevenson. He is presented in the title piece, "Putting First Things First," a reprint of Stevenson's celebrated blueprint of liberalism first published in the January issue of *Foreign Affairs*. That carefully-studied, brilliantly written essay is the outline of what the man thinks; "Our Broken Mainspring" is an outburst of what he feels.

But here is one reader who found in the eulogy what Stevenson himself, in another speech, begged our leadership to give us – "the clear, clean, astringent note of the trumpet." Stevenson is not running for any office, and some of us have felt that the appropriate comment on that is, so much the worse for the country. But perhaps we were wrong. Perhaps it is precisely as a non-candidate that he can best furnish the leadership that we need in a campaign, not against any political party, but against the creeping paralysis of will and energy, the fatty degeneration of the heart, the mind, the spirit that is a far more dangerous threat to this country than the combination of the Red army, the Russian technology, and the Communist idea.

The rest of this small book is more of the Stevenson we have long known – intelligent, provocative, stylistically charming. But "Our Broken Mainspring" is great.

Politics 1960 is a fine book. Like Caesar's *De Bello Gallico* and Xenephon's *Anabasis* in the original, reading it may be recommended as a first rate exercise in developing literary taste and acquiring the rudiments of history. It is full of erudition, eloquence, fine critical analysis, synthesis that is always competent

Politics 1960
Edited by Francis M. Carney
and H. Frank Way, Jr.
(Wadsworth; $3.95)

and sometimes brilliant, facts, figures and logic – everything, indeed, except the truth about politics in 1960.

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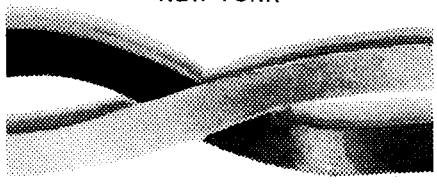

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an assortment of Presidents, Secretaries of State, generals, and newspaper scriveners, with a few unclassifiable characters such as A. A. Berle and Albert Schweitzer. Each of them has something to say about American politics. Most of them say it well, some memorably, which makes the book not only worth reading, but worth keeping handy for future reference.

But the preface begins by saying that it "presents the major economic, social and international issues confronting both the nation and the voter in a Presidential election year," and there it claims too much. The book is divided into two parts, "The Processes" and "The Issues." The first part is accurate, as well as highly entertaining, but the second presents the issues as they ought to be or as the pundits think they ought to be, rather than as they are.

The issues this year, they say, are budgets, labor, civil rights, foreign policy, and cold war, which they aptly term "The Balance of Terror." Various aspects of them all are presented clearly and, as I believe, fairly. The presentation is unexceptionable.

But are those the issues on which we are actually going to vote? November is a long way off, too long for prediction, but consider the situation as of today. Since Ike thundered from the curious Sinai of the Gridiron Club dinner it is widely believed that Mr. Nixon has what stud-players call a lock on the Republican nomination; and on the other side, with the cards now showing, Mr. Kennedy is undoubtedly high man. But if the Republican nomination is already dictated, and the Democratic practically in the bag, the questions that will interest most of the voters are these: if we elect Kennedy will Cardinal Spellman or an equivalent wield undue influence at the White House? And, if we elect Nixon will Murray Chotiner or a facsimile thereof wield undue influence at the White House? The voter who likes either Cardinals or Chotiners will, of course, have no problem; but one who likes neither will have the delicate task of deciding which he dislikes more.

This may be frivolous, but isn't it fact? If it is fact, it presages a warmer election than one would expect from the issues presented in this book.

GERALD W. JOHNSON

MOVIES

Home Thoughts from Abroad

If, to believe the old saw, one wields more power by writing a nation's songs than its laws, then Great Britain has been a Yankee province for many years by musical fiat. One of the small things that embarrass an American in Britain (not Coca-cola or tail-fins) is the fact that the British nowadays seem to have virtually no popular music of their own. Lest you think this a trifle, imagine how odd it would sound if every juke-box and radio crooned foreign tunes at us either with British singers or with native ones imitating British accents.

Expresso Bongo (Continental)
The Would-be Gentleman (Pathe)

The reasons for this musical imperialism are fairly clear: prior American industrialization pushed the mass-production of films and juke-boxes – and tunes – faster than elsewhere and made export imperative; also, the Negro elements, so important in the "new" popular music, had their best chance to flower here. In any event the Americanization of popular music abroad, and of contiguous matters like dancing and show business, now seems almost complete.

Sooner or later we were bound to reap the harvest of this Pax Tympana. One early fruit is a film called *Expresso Bongo* made from a successful London musical which was expanded from his own short story by Wolf Mankowitz. Fast, hard, frantic, the film is American to the teeth – or, rather, just short of them, for only the accents are different. The songs, the musical-show world of the story, the characters, are derived from American sources.

It is a sort of *What Makes Limey Run?* – the tale of a penniless young hustling theatrical agent who discovers a teenage singer and ingeniously promotes him to success with a record company and with the TV program of a fading blonde *chanteuse*. All the characters are out of Damon Runyon via the Mile End Road and Soho.

In addition the whole method of production is American – a technique recognizable to those familiar with, say, George Abbott and George S. Kaufman. Every scene is played a shade faster than necessary, including love scenes, as if the speed knob on the phonograph had been turned ahead slightly, and all the dialogue is written in tight-packed wisecrackese which *sounds* like life but is really the 20th Century American theater's equivalent of blank verse. For it is not realism but real speech distilled and heightened. No girl in the world ever spoke like Juliet, and no agent or bandsman ever delivered himself so unceasingly of swift, apt punchlines as these people do. It is an American convention, an abstraction, and here it comes back at us across the sea.

Not to mislead, let me say that the film is, like its hero, very clever, never boring, almost entirely likeable. Val Guest, the director, has been a diligent student of our one-two punch technique; each scene is built at a sharp incline to an insistent point – indeed, sometimes snapped off just before the top of the incline, agreeably leaving the point to your imagination. Meier Tzelniker is comfortably professional as the recording executive, and there is nothing much to complain of except that two songs, left over from the stage version, occur vestigially and incongruously in "straight" scenes.

Still, although it is all slick, to one viewer it is vaguely depressing. I got the feeling that London was already filled with skyscrapers and jive and that one world – indivisible and homogeneous – was well on the way. 'Midst pleasures and palaces, soon, there will be no place unlike home.

The most extraordinary aspect of the film, however, is the fine performance of Laurence Harvey as the agent, interesting not only in itself but as another step in Harvey's career. That career is exceptionally interesting because until *Room at the Top* he didn't seem to have one. From *Romeo and Juliet* to *The Silent Enemy* he was only an attractive young man with a pleasant if unutilized voice and remarkably well-combed hair.

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Then, as Joe Lampton, he seemed to crack out of a plaster mold, to breathe, to strike and suffer, to *be*. As Johnny Jackson, the luridly colored cartoon of an agent in *Bongo*, he plays with flawless technique and grasp, attacking at high speed, dropping in tender asides to his girl as he machinates, employing an overdrive of energy and address that elevates the pages of a smartly contrived script into the fantasy world where they belong. Sylvia Sims, his girl friend, plays competently, but she merely gives and takes as any merely competent actress would. Harvey overrides his scenes, charges them with a vitality that lifts them even when others are speaking – not by mugging or egotistical "business" but simply by an intensity of attack and imagination that sets his environment vibrating. (Cagney and Brando have this quality, too.)

What made the change in Harvey? Why did he suddenly evolve from pleasant mannequin to actor? One can only guess. Jack Clayton, the director of *Room at the Top*, may have been one factor, and it is neither impertinent nor irrelevant to infer that Harvey's marriage to that shining actress Margaret Leighton brought him benefit of counsel. His theater appearances with the Old Vic doubtless exercised him further. But it may be that to carry a figurative knife and speak with an accent gave him the release he needed. I once knew an actor who was bad only when he appeared without heavy make-up – beards, wigs, false noses. Perhaps the ice was cracked for Harvey by the chance to assume the Midlands accent and the savage realities of Lampton. He is equally but quite differently good in the Cockney-Jewish accent and violent fakeries of *Expresso Bongo*. If he keeps his film diet varied, his acting frank and full and interlards it with stage work to keep his sources clear, we all may have the fun of watching an artist develop.

The Comédie Française has made a film of its production of *The Would-be Gentleman*. Sometime space may permit an examination of what happens to old comedies – particularly foreign ones – through the centuries. Here we can note only that the subtitles of this picture are sorrowfully inadequate to Molière, but that the color photography and costumes are excellent and that the film has value as a record of Comédie style.

Stanley Kauffmann

RECORDS

From the Standard Repertory

A major event is RCA Victor's release, on LM-2387, of the performance of Beethoven's *Eroica* Symphony that Toscanini broadcast with the NBC Symphony on December 6, 1953. Toscanini's three *Eroica* recordings document the change in his style: the 1939 performance on M-765 was one of the greatest examples of his earlier expansive style involving much elasticity of tempo; the 1949 performance of LM-1042 and 6901 demonstrates the power he could achieve in his later simpler style involving only slight modifications of tempo; the 1953 performance is, in this later style, more relaxed, a little more elastic in tempo and plastic in shape, with the effect of final clarification. And its recorded sound is more natural and spacious, more solid and luminous than that of the 1949 performance.

Every Glenn Gould recording is an important event; and the latest gives us his performance of Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 3 with an orchestra under Leonard Bernstein. The fast movements are slower than usual – the first movement in effect an Allegro moderato four to the measure rather than the Allegro con brio two to the measure that Beethoven prescribes; and in place of brio in the first movement and grace in the finale we get Gould's impressive, and at times exciting, power of sculptural contour. Bernstein, seemingly more relaxed than in the recorded performance of the Concerto No. 2, produces a well-matched orchestral context for Gould's playing. As for recording, in the first

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two movements the monophonic ML-5418 produces a near and solid piano sound that I find preferable to the somewhat distant and shallow piano sound from the stereophonic MS-6096.

Another notable performance is the one of Schumann's Piano Concerto by Peter Katin with the London Symphony under Goossens – the first since Lipatti's that offers a comparable combination of sensitive inflection, feeling for continuity of phrase, and exactness of execution. It comes with an equally fine performance of Franck's best piece, the Symphonic Variations for piano and orchestra; and so I regret having to report that whereas the performances come off Everest's stereophonic SDBR-3036 with sufficient clarity, the Schumann comes off the monophonic LPBR-6036 with piano and over-all sound excessively blurred by reverberance.

For possessors of stereophonic equipment there are, in addition, on London CS-6085, Katin's excellent performances of Bach's Chromatic Fanatasia and Fugue, Scarlatti's Sonatas L. 23 and 413, Schumann's F-sharp major Romance and his Novelette Op. 21 No. 7, and Chopin's Berceuse. With these the record offers a strangely mannered performance of Chopin's C-sharp minor Waltz, and a few pieces by Brahms and Rachmaninov.

Beecham sets one of his over-deliberate tempos for the first movement of Mozart's lovely Clarinet Concerto, on Capitol G-7201 (mono) and SG-7201 (stereo); otherwise the performance is good, with beautiful playing of the solo part by Jack Brymer; and the performance of the Bassoon Concerto with Gwydion Brooke is delightful. The older London performance of the Clarinet Concerto on LL-1135 has a better tempo in the first movement and the more sensitively inflected clarinet tone and phrasing of Gervase de Peyer.

Von Karajan's fast tempo in the great Andante movement of Mozart's *Prague* Symphony makes it an Allegretto, with a lessening of its expressive effect; but his performances of the two fast movements with the London Philharmonia are excellent. With it on Angel 35739 (mono) is what seems to be the beautiful performance of the Symphony K. 543 previously issued on 35323 (with the Clarinet Concerto); with it on S-35739 (stereo) is what seems to be a new performance of K. 543; and I prefer the more cleanly defined sound of the monophonic versions.

For a stereophonic recording of Mozart's *Prague* Symphony I recommend London CS-6107, with the slower-paced, clearer-textured and more powerful performance by Maag with the London Symphony, in which the Andante is played Andante. Unfortunately it has with it the uninteresting Symphony K. 318.

The Dutch conductor Van Otterloo's recordings are important events; and Epic LC-3642 (mono) and BC-1059 (stereo) give us his excellently paced and shaped performances of Beethoven's Eighth and Schubert's Unfinished Symphonies with the Hague Philharmonic.

Of less familiar music there is Mahler's Symphony No. 4, whose poignant third movement lends itself to being played by the German tutor in *Five-Finger Exercise* during his suicide attempt, but whose other movements are genial and engaging; and though the work is characteristically long-winded, it characteristically holds interest with an operation which is never perfunctory – the operation of a mind that is always at work in unexpected, individual, original and fascinating ways. As against Van Otterloo's older performance with the Hague Philharmonic on Epic LC-3304, with its admirable combination of relaxed expansiveness and cohesive tension, Reiner's new performance with the Chicago Symphony on RCA Victor LM-2364 (mono) and LSC-2364 (stereo) makes the first movement nervous, abrupt and discontinuous with its tempos and changes of tempo, but quiets down in the later movements; and it offers a finer-sounding orchestra and, in the finale, the more beautiful soprano voice of Lisa Della Casa.

The Markevitch performance of Stravinsky's *Sacre du Printemps* with the London Philharmonic on the newly issued Angel stereophonic record S-35549 is reproduced with more brightness and presence than the earlier performance on the monophonic 35549, but also with brashness and a lack of clean definition in quiet – for which reason I prefer the earlier performance.

London offers only stereophonic recordings of the following: a well-paced and shaped performance of Tchaikovsky's Fifth by Krips with the Vienna Philharmonic, on CS-6095; a performance of Tchaikovsky's beautiful score for *The Sleeping Beauty* by Ansermet with his Orchestre de la Suisse Romande, on CSA-2304, that has better tempos and fewer cuts than the recent Angel performance; and a performance of Tchaikovsky's score for *Swan Lake* by the same conductor and orchestra, on CSA-2204, with cuts which include the lovely Dance of the Cygnets that is retained in the old London performance.

B. H. HAGGIN

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Frederic W. Collins *is Washington correspondent of* The Providence Journal. James E. Holton *is a young British writer who has just returned to England after a lengthy stay in the US.*

Correspondence

The Chessman Case

Sirs:

Yes, Chessman must die. If he is not executed, he will be killed as soon as he appears, paroled on the open streets – if, indeed, he escapes murder at the hands of some fellow prisoner if removed from the safety of Death Row.

The reason is not the one you give (that he has brought discredit upon our Courts) but the truth that he is patently and unquestionably guilty of the crimes for which he was convicted and many others for which he never was indicted.

When I came to this state several years ago I was immediately interested in Chessman's case and my sympathies were deeply stirred. So I read his books sympathetically but carefully and was convinced by Chessman himself that he does not belong in the world which still nurtures him.

But as an attorney I realized that a man, no matter how unworthy to live, must not be "railroaded" for a crime he did not commit. So I went down to Los Angeles and investigated very carefully.

1. The red light holdups, a series, ceased completely with the apprehen-

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sion of Chessman. They had not ceased with the apprehension of other suspects.

2. The original court reporter's notes still exist, and Ben Pittman shorthand presents little difficulty to skilled transcribers. The transcription which you say was of "dubious accuracy" has been checked by experts. Nobody has seriously challenged it but Chessman and his lawyers and they, seeking a technicality, claim *possibility* of error in detail. There is no question about the essentials of the case, the testimony, the rulings, or the impressions of the jury.

3. The present plea that Chessman's 12 years in Death Row constitute cruel and unusual punishment unconstitutional in nature is without merit for two reasons: (a) It is by his own efforts that he has had it instead of something which he evidently considers far worse; (b) The Death Row cells are by far more comfortable, more safe and more commodious than any others in the prison. Nowhere else could he have had the many books, the typewriter and the stationery and supplies, plus the quiet seclusion, with which he has conducted his long campaign of stress upon petty details in search of a technicality that might impress some court.

4. The assertion that this case discredits our California courts is ridiculous. To the contrary, this case and others nearly as tedious show the extent to which California courts will go, and the expense which the State and its courts will willingly incur in the effort to insure that no man shall be put to death so long as any reasonable doubt of his guilt can still exist.

5. It is to be noted that Governor Brown, familiar with this case since its inception, harbors no doubts as to Chessman's guilt. His reprieve was based upon his long-known opposition to capital punishment and the fact that a bill to abolish it was then pending in our Legislature. The bill has failed. Governor Brown has not, and has never had, the power to pardon Chessman.

My prediction that, if paroled, Chessman will soon be killed is based upon the facts: (1) that in his book he has identified old associates to their embarrassment and fear; and (2) passages in his book which plainly and boastfully imply that he killed two of his associates, check with the dates of their unexplained disappearance. Those men have friends and relations still living.

All told, the Chessman case is not so simple as your editorial has made it appear.

John H. Sherman
Berkeley, California

Is Puerto Rico a Commonwealth?

Sirs:

For heaven's sake! My favorite columnist, TRB, will insist on talking about Puerto Rico, when he shows little knowledge of the island's constitutional status. His March 28 blooper is a dilly: "Puerto Rico is not a colony, it is a Commonwealth, with a relationship to the US like that of Canada to England."

The sentence is completely incorrect. Puerto Rico, since the institution of civil government under the Foraker Act of 1900, has been an organized but unincorporated territory of the United States. To put it bluntly, a colony. Today's colonialism is a far cry from the turn of the century variety – as evidenced by the grant of US citizenship in 1917, and effective home rule in 1952 – but juridically Puerto Rico remains a colony. Canada is a sovereign state; Puerto Rico is not. The parliament at Ottawa decides all the issues facing the Canadian people; the legislature at San Juan does not.

The sovereignty of the Puerto Rican Commonwealth is a fiction. It is the creation of Governor Munoz Marin's eloquence and imagination. Extensive Puerto Rican home rule derives from an Act of Congress (Public Law 600, 1951), and, constitutionally, it may be revoked at will.

Frank Otto Gatell
University of Maryland

Stevenson *vs.* Nixon

Sirs:

Viva Margaret Halsey ("Stevenson," March 28). To prove that she is right in her belief in Stevenson's chances to win the White House there is the poll in California which put Adlai far ahead of Nixon. And there is the Louis Bean survey which chalked up 54 to 44 percent for Stevenson against Dicky. I think the citizens are waking up to the fact that they and not Adlai have been two-time losers for spurning his great talents.

Allen Klein
Mount Vernon, N.Y.

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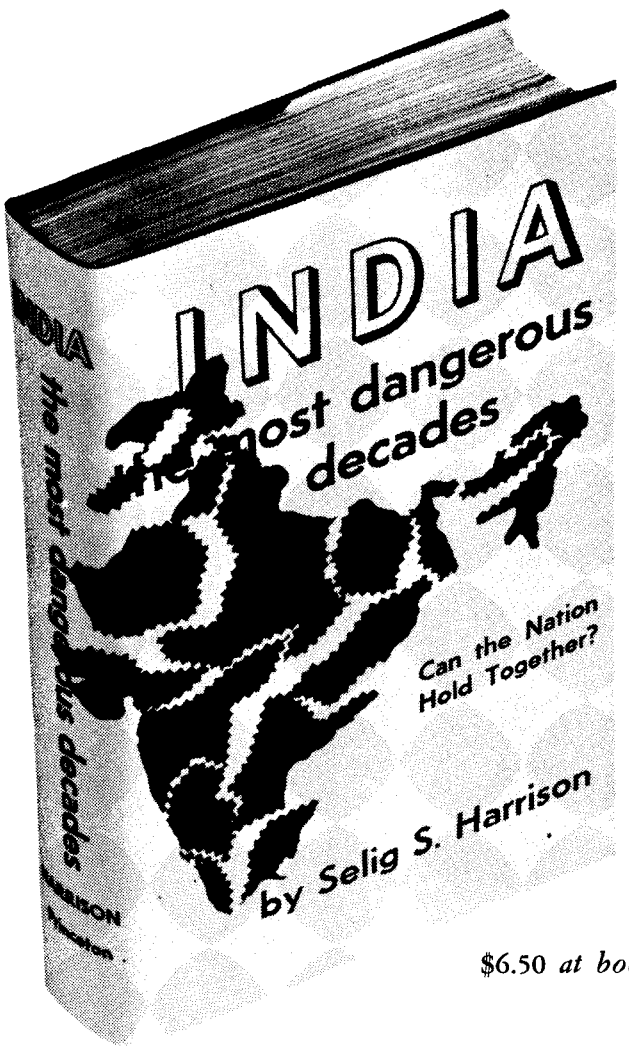

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